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exactly revealing the century during which a text has been written. Of calligraphy there can be no question, as it was impossible with the curved lines, and it would be unjust not to take into consideration the material difficulties imposed upon the scribe by the arrangement of the bowls. This then in its very aspect is a proof of ingenuousness, worthy of attention, for the profit of future Aramaic studies.

RADIN'S 'JEWS AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS'

The Jews among the Greeks and Romans. By MAX RADIN.
Philadelphia: THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF
AMERICA, 1915. pp. 422 and 7 illustrations.

The civilization of humanity was not begun by the Greeks and Romans alone; in the course of advancement the Jews likewise were an equally important factor. The contact among these three nations has furthered progress even to this day. To what period does this contact go back? What is the nature thereof? To these weighty questions the book of Mr. Radin is a direct reply. He informs us fully concerning the life of the Jews, their material activity, as well as their religious ideal, during the many centuries that elapsed from the captivity of Babylon to the fall of the ancient world. He depicts the state of our ancestors outside of Palestine, and, in order to give us a good understanding of their situation in the midst of surrounding peoples, the author shows us what ideas prevailed at that time in the political and religious world. To this end the book, which contains a storehouse of knowledge, gives full scope in a number of chapters.

During this turbulent period the first relations between the diverse races had been pacific rather than hostile, as we have had occasion to point out elsewhere. Through the invasion of Asia by Hellenism as a result of the victorious armies of Alexander the Great, Greek became in a few years the universal language. Even the Jews, in spite of their inclination to remain distinct,

could not resist the strange force of attraction of Hellenic culture. This daily contact between Greeks and Semites constrained the latter to admit into their literature even foreign words; inasmuch as the Hebrew language did not contain sufficient words to express fully the profusion of new ideas which the Jews absorbed. In short, the Hellenic influence extended likewise to every sphere of civilization.¹ Afterwards, however, there arises opposition between these two heterogeneous elements: it manifests itself now in a social phase, now in philosophic thought. But after all, is not the history of Judaism a struggle against subjection?

Mr. Radin sets forth these diverse stages with a great deal of knowledge, with an abundance of material among which we should have desired to see a little more space given to Jewish writers. He rightly appeals to the work of Franz Cumont² to show how the idea of spiritual monotheism coincides opportunely with the birth of Neo-Platonism at the time of the diffusion of Oriental cults in the Occident. It would have been appropriate for the author to take up this point in order to refute the following theory of the Belgian scholar who expresses himself thus:³ 'The point on which further light must be shed is the composite cult of those Jewish or rather Jewish-pagan communities, worshippers of Hypsistos, Sabbatistes, Sabaziastes, and others, where the new faith had been implanted from the time of the Apostles. Before the beginning of our era, the Mosaic law had already blended with sacred customs of the Gentiles, and monotheism had made concessions to idolatry . . .' On reading these lines we ask ourselves the question whether we are still living in the time of Apion? Is this not the opportune time, twenty centuries after Flavius Josephus, to combat such slander? This false attribution to the faith of unfortunate exiles comes from ignorance or malice, which prevailed among the wits of foreigners from the first to the fifth century. To justify this

¹ *Rapport sur une mission de philologie en Grèce*, Paris, 1913, p. 5.

² *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*: Conférences au Collège de France en 1905 (1907, 8vo).

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii.

singular opinion, Cumont gave merely one reference, namely to Bousset,⁴ and he proceeds to say further (p. 77): 'In Asia-Minor, Hypsistos is the name employed to designate the God of Israel. There were numerous pagan cult-associations which, although refusing to practise all the ceremonies of the Synagogue, rendered exclusive homage to the Most High, *the Supreme God, the Eternal God, God the Creator*'. Unless he was guided by preconceived ideas or by prejudice, how could Mr. Cumont have supposed that there was a correlation between the Hebrew monotheism and the cult of Cybele? He likewise indulges in a gratuitous hypothesis in identifying the 'Most High' (Elion) of the Hebrews with the Greek god Hypsistos, cited also as an adjective, or qualificative, in an inscription, Ἄττεϊ ὑψίστῳ. It is not even necessary to state that, barring a casual assonance, there is the least similarity which could be taken seriously between the word Sabbatistes, of Hebraic origin, and that of Sabazias⁵, of Greek or Phrygian origin, as little as between the latter and the word Sabaoth, from the root שבת.

Likewise Mr. Radin is justified in referring to the book of Mr. Jean Juster.⁶ The latter has shown, in his doctor's thesis, how the Jews, having spread throughout the Roman Empire, had obtained citizenship in the Greek cities and at Rome, or elsewhere, during the evolutionary process of their political rights. A great number of Jews, having spread outside of Palestine long before the loss of their nationality, formed notable groups, constituting what has been designated the *Diaspora*, the 'dispersion'. Some had acquired local political rights, with or without the right of residence; they were in their relation to the Greek cities adopted strangers. Others, by the grace of the Roman law, had become Roman citizens, although they had been led away as slaves by Pompey sixty-three years before the common era. Because of

⁴ *Die Religion des Judenthums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903.

⁵ *Comp. Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen u. röm. Mythologie*, edited by W. H. Roscher, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 232-63.

⁶ *Les Droits politiques des Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1914.

their religious practices they were given freedom, with which went the right of citizenship. We must also remember that because of their number, they must have exercised a great influence upon the political assemblies at the time of Cicero. From the beginning of the third century all the Jews enjoyed the rights and duties of Roman citizens by dint of the edict of Caracalla which designated all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire citizens. It was only after the time of the Christian supremacy that the Jews were deprived of certain civic rights because of a divergent faith ; then in the Middle Ages they were enslaved completely.

Aside from Juster and Cumont, we should have been pleased to see other French books cited. Passing over Augustin Bonetty⁷ because of his orthodox tendencies, we regret the omission of the Jewish historian, Joseph Salvador.⁸ It is true that he had not the scholarly polish of our contemporaries ; but he merits being mentioned for the priority and profoundness of his ideas. With what zeal, with what lofty sentiments he describes how the Jews were the first to symbolize the moral force of resistance ; then how, after the defeat of the Romans under Cestius, beaten by the Jewish nation, the latter succumbed to the number of the conquerors of the world.

Still another remark is pertinent in this place. In telling of the scorn that the Greeks had for the Jews who abstained from all warfare on the Sabbath, Mr. Radin casts doubt upon the possibility of such an occurrence ; because, says he, the Talmudic discussions upon this subject date from the time after the Jews had ceased to engage in war. Is there not a confusion between the Gemara and Mishnah ? We must not forget that the latter, or the Oral Law which is the nucleus of the Talmud, is anterior to the capture of Jerusalem ; it could not help dealing with instances of fighting.

It is, of course, understood that the preceding remarks, which are entirely secondary, do not detract from the value or importance

⁷ *Rapports des Romains et des Juifs*, Paris, 1867, 1871, two large vols.

⁸ *Histoire de la domination romaine en Judée et de la ruine de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1846.

of the American scholar's work, which is meritorious for its matter as well as its form⁹ down to minute particulars.¹⁰ To be brief, Mr. Radin's *résumé* reads well (pp. 368-71): since the Jews bordered upon the Mediterranean, they began to come into close contact with the Greeks at the time of Alexander of Macedonia. Greece was then entering on a new phase of development. Its hegemony made for a greater degree of political unity than had been previously achieved; but above all, a real cultural unity had been created, and was carried by arms and commerce to the East. To this the Jews, as did other nations, opposed a vigorous resistance; and this resistance was successful in so far as it allowed the creation of a practically independent nation, and, particularly, stimulated the independent development of Jewish institutions, especially the religious. Consequently, the conflict with their Greek environment went from bad to worse.

For several centuries the East had been undergoing a great spiritual unrest, from which had grown various religious movements. The common goal was the attainment of a personal immortality—the 'salvation of the soul'. Among the Jews especially this movement had been active, and had produced concrete results in sects. The Jewish aspect of this general movement would have remained a local development had it not been given a wider field by the unusual position of the Jews due to their dispersion, for which various causes can be assigned. Perhaps the most potent single cause was the fact that the Jews, who rigorously opposed exposure of infants and encouraged in other ways the growth of their population, increased too rapidly for the very limited resources of their small and niggardly territory. At any rate, the successors of Alexander found Jews as colonists in many of the new foundations in Asia, Syria, and Egypt, especially the last, where, as a matter of fact, Jews had lived from pre-Persian times. Within these communities the doctrines

⁹ There is a slight error, p. 409: we should read *Vigna* in place of *Signa* Randanini.

¹⁰ A noteworthy instance is the note on *Yom Kippur* in the Appendix, pp. 399-402.

preached in Palestine became a means of propaganda, and enabled the Jews to do more than maintain themselves in the exceptional positions which their highly specialized religion necessitated.

Besides, the Jews were by no means the only religious group in the Greek communities with proselytizing tendencies. This made friction of some sort inevitable at first, since a community of religious observances for all citizens of a single State was axiomatic in antiquity. However, the anomaly of the Jewish position became less glaring in course of time.

The first stages of Jewish influence are marked by two things : a constantly increasing dispersion, and an equally increasing propaganda that reached all strata of society. As the Roman power extended, the dispersion of Israel increased still more, and for the Hasmonean kings the support of Rome was an invaluable asset. The Jews, however, entered upon an armed conflict with the Graeco-Roman world when their national and religious aspirations, inspired by a Messianic hope, came into contact with the denationalizing tendencies of the imperial system. This conflict might have been avoided if, in addition to the internal movements, there had not been a series of revolts between 68 and 135 A. C., in consequence of constant excitation from without on the part of the hereditary enemies of the Greek East—the Persians, and the Parthians.

And now, passing over a great period of time and space, let us adopt the exclamation of Victor Basch to the Jews of America : ¹¹ ‘From the day that you were driven out of the land of your ancestors, amid the greatest misfortunes, the most excruciating tortures, you have unweariedly declared with the Prophets that the day of deliverance will come. Friends, events are big with meaning, the day is near at hand ; after the thunder of the gigantic cannon and the lightnings of the mitrailleuses, the Messiah will arise’.

MOÏSE SCHWAB.

Paris, National Library.

¹¹ *Journal Victoire*, April 23, 1916.